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COOPERATION BETWEEN PLANTS AND  
RURAL COMMUNES IN CHINA

By Fukushima Yutaka

- COMMUNIST CHINA -

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COOPERATION BETWEEN PLANTS AND  
RURAL COMMUNES IN CHINA

- Communist China -

[Following is a translation of an article by Fukushima Yutaka in Ajia Keizai Jumpo (Asian Economic Ten Day Report), No. 452, Tokyo, 10 December 1960, pages 1-10.]

I. Introduction

Developing the national economy with agriculture as its basis was a main point in the Chinese national economic policy of 1960. Moreover further strengthening of people's communes, improvement in farming techniques and elevating the productivity in agricultural labor were demanded, and support from industry to agriculture was strongly requested. In reviewing 1960 it can be said that this basic policy was quite progressively pursued. The overall support of plants to rural people's communes, which is related hereby, is nothing but an expression of this phenomenon.

Since the end of 1959 cooperation between plants and rural people's communes has become an important part of industry's aid to agriculture and cities' aid to rural areas. For instance, in Liao-ning Province since the end of 1959 important plants and mining enterprises throughout the entire province have been organized so that they have directly cooperated with people's communes and have given full support to people's communes in material, technological and other phases. This is to say that with direct support from plants and mining enterprises, in the total of 460 people's communes throughout the entire province of Liao-ning, 437 farming implements repair and assembly factories and industrial enterprises have been constructed. At the same time over 9,000 skilled workers of different skills have been trained for these factories, and farming implements repair and assembly networks, although they may be elementary, have been formed in the rural areas of Liao-ning. Moreover plants have aided rural people's communes in such a way that small power generating plants, native-method chemical fertilizer factories, agricultural chemicals manufacturing factories, and small blast furnaces have been constructed. Recently cooperation between plants and rural people's communes has developed into an advanced form, that is, with affiliated plants as main bodies, basic plants as group leaders, absorption of transportation, commerce-finance, education-sanitation, science-technology and other entities, organization of coalition committees for agricul-

tural support, and the realization of improvement in farming techniques by rural people's communes.

Cooperation between plants and rural people's communes is also a new form in further strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. This cooperation of plants and rural communes lets cities support the realization of responsibilities in rural mechanization, water conservancy and electrification; it not only implements the periods, methods, and priorities for the realization of these responsibilities, it also formulates them by the use of a form of conference report. By this cooperation both plants and rural communes greatly strengthen their sense of responsibility for the realization of improvement in farming techniques, and it contributes to solidifying the worker-peasant alliance more than ever.

Form, content, superiority, significance and problems arising out of cooperation between plants and rural people's communes will be dealt with in the following.

## II. Forms of Cooperation

There are the following forms of cooperation between plants and rural people's communes.

1. One plant taking charge of one commune.

At present this method is widely adopted. Its strong point is that the goal is fixed, the responsibility is clear-cut, and the task is concrete.

2. Several plants taking charge of one commune or several plants taking charge of several communes.

Although this method is infrequently used at present, there is a tendency toward an increase in this method. This method is to have several plants and mining enterprises form a group in order to cooperate with one or several communes. Its chief advantage is that each plant or mining enterprise can conveniently integrate divisions of labor for mutual promotion so that the latent power of each plant or mining enterprise can be fully developed.

Textile mills in Shensi Province have supported rural people's communes by the following method. (Jen-min Jih-pao, 17 October 1960). 22 textile enterprises, under the unified guidance of the Bureau of Textile Industry, respectively support 52 people's communes in 17 hsien and municipalities in various phases. Party committee secretaries, plant managers and general engineers from 12 large cotton spinning mills, personally leading staff members, workers, and skilled workers, have supported rural people's communes in inspection and repair of cotton manufacturing machinery and construction of new manufacturing factories. From the beginning of summer each textile mill selected skilled workers and supported each rural people's commune in inspection and repair of cotton manufacturing machinery; in September they dispatched over 600 workers and staff members to 52 people's communes in cotton producing areas and assisted them in inspection and repair. Each plant used such methods as accepting apprentice workers and dispatching technicians to

aid rural people's communes, which resulted in fostering over 280 skilled workers, elevating the technological standard of functionaries and workers of manufacturing factories. And at present in the textile field they have aided rural people's communes in the construction of 13 comparatively large natural fibre manufacturing factories and hemp sack factories and at the same time in the new erection of small manufacturing factories.

3. When from the standpoint of the entire province, several plants and mines of cities with solid industrial basis are selected to cooperate with many rural people's communes in areas with less industrial basis. For instance, several plants and mining enterprises from five such municipalities with solid industrial basis as Mukden, An-shan, Lu-ta, Fu-shun, and Pen-ch'i have entered into cooperation with 87 people's communes in cities with a comparatively weak industrial basis such as Chao-yang, Ying-k'ou, An-tung and Chin-chou. At present the majority of plants and mining enterprises in Liao-ning Province cooperate with the entire 450 peoples' communes. This method enables the support from industry to agriculture to be large scale, organized, planned and overall.

4. When plants which cooperate with rural people's communes become centers, cadre plants become leaders, and transportation, communications, commerce-finance, education-sanitation, and science-technology phases participate to form "cooperatives" through which they give full support to rural people's communes in economic, technological, cultural and political fields. For instance, industrial, transportation and finance-commerce entities in the two wards of Huang-ku and T'ieh-hsi in Shen-yang Municipality competed in the full support of improvement in farming techniques and collected a large quantity of discarded materials, loading them on 89 large trucks, and transported them to rural people's communes in a long line. 120 units from 16 departments such as commerce, industry, education and sanitation of T'ai-an Hsien mobilized ten thousand people and trucks and 406 carts, forming large armies for supporting the improvement of farming techniques with materials supply teams, capital (farm loan and aid to poverty-stricken production teams from the State) supply teams, sanitation-epidemic prevention teams, and cultural propaganda teams to support rural people's communes. (According to an article entitled "The Cooperation between Plants and Rural People's Communes is a New Form of Strengthening the Worker-Peasant Alliance," by Huang Huo-ch'ing in Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 13, 1960.)

Although the aforementioned are the main forms of cooperation between plants and rural people's communes, school-commune (colleges and high schools and rural people's communes), hospital-commune (hospitals and rural people's communes), center-commune (scientific research centers and rural people's communes) and other forms have since come into existence. In the case of Kiangsu Province such forms are widely adopted in the entire province; it is reported that over 3,100 plants and mines and over 3,600 schools, hospitals and scientific research centers are cooperating with over 1,200 rural people's communes.

Moreover there are such cases as the following which have thoroughly aided rural people's communes in erection of new factories with the cooperation of large plants and hsien plants. For instance, the Nan-

king Automobile Manufacturing Plant has given overall aid to P'iao-shui Hsien in its construction of a farm machinery factory, e.g. supplying a large quantity of machine tools and materials, sending such personnel as factory managers, supervisors, foremen, engineers and skilled workers, selecting a factory site, adopting engineering standards, installing machinery, and training workers. As the result of this mutual cooperation the P'iao-shui Farm Machinery Plant is equipped with over 30 machine tools and over 300 functionaries and workers. The factory contains machine, pincers, forge, casting, electric, and wooden frame workshops; furthermore this factory is capable of producing over ten different kinds of farming machines and industrial machines, accelerating farm production of P'iao-shui Hsien and development of hsien and commune industries.

There is another form of cooperation between plants and rural people's communes which is described below. In the case of cooperation between the Wu-hsi Ch'ing-feng Textile Mill and Huang-hsing People's Commune of Wu-hsi Hsien, the machine repair shop of the textile mill has aided the Commune's construction of a farming machine factory and a foundry; the finance accounting department has aided the Commune's establishment of a fiscal system; the purchase and sales department assisted the Commune to set up a management system for farming implements and seeds; the welfare department has aided the Commune's management of dining facilities and child-care facilities; moreover the medical department has assisted the Commune in training medical personnel and curing difficult diseases. (Ch'iang Wei-ch'ing: "Let the Mass Movement for Agricultural Support Be Developed," Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 14, 1960)

### III. Contents of Cooperation

As described above, the cooperation between plants and rural people's communes is becoming intensified. If this is the case, then what are the concrete contents of support to rural people's communes? The following are samples from the cases of Liao-ning Province.

1. Rural people's communes are aided in the construction of farming machinery manufacturing, repair and assembly factories. That is, factories and mining enterprises aid communes in the construction or enlarging of machine repair factories. Moreover enterprises not only have offered material support, but also have undertaken, to a wide extent, such things as installation, repair and instruction in operation of machines up to the time of normal production. With such tremendous support from industry an elementary machine repair network in the rural areas has been formed. At present, in Liao-ning Province 427 elementary machine repair factories have been equipped. The majority of these repair factories are equipped with two to four machine tools and general repair tools. (The repair factory equipment standard of some of the communes is somewhat higher than this.) Since communes had these machine repair factories established, minor repairs were met at the level of production teams and moderate repairs at the level of communes; moreover

they produce general farming implements and minor parts.

(Note 1: The farming machine repair network in Kiangsu Province is formed as follows. If we take the repair of suction pumps as a standard, in the hsien-owned and commune-owned industries then there are 43 hsien capable of major repairs, ten hsien capable of moderate repairs, and five hsien capable of minor repairs. Out of 1,556 communes, 1,139 communes which vary in size have already constructed farming machine repair factories; 55 communes are capable of major repairs, 184 communes are capable of moderate repairs, and 480 communes are capable of minor repairs. Ch'iang Wei-ch'ing: op. cit., page 6.)

2. Communes are aided so that they can develop a tool reform movement with semi-mechanization as the objective, develop comprehensive utilization of facilities, and utilize one piece of machinery for many purposes. The functionaries and workers of the Dairen Machine Tool Plant, in the process of support to agriculture, have succeeded in the trial manufacture of a universal type machine. This is a simple device and is manufactured with a little material and with ease; its uses are wide, and it can substitute as shaper, planer, milling, and drilling machines, and it is said that assistance is being rendered so that at least one of these machines can be installed in each commune repair factory.

3. Communes are aided in training technical capability. Many plants have aided communes in equipping machine repair factories and in developing industry, and at the same time they have aided in fostering and training techniques. Generally the following two methods are adopted in supporting. One is that commune workers are invited to plants for training using workshops as classrooms, production as teaching materials, and senior workers as teachers with one teacher in charge of one student and one teacher in charge of one piece of machinery. The other is that workers with a comparatively high technical standard are selected and are put in charge of technological instruction of communes, thus training on the spot and instructing technology while working. At present, in Liao-ning Province over 9,000 technicians of various skills have been trained in plants and mines; they are mainly skilled workers for tractors, irrigation machines, and machine repair. To quote an example from the Dairen Industrial Mining Rolling Stock Plant, the present year's plans call for aiding rural people's communes in fostering over 100 skilled workers from communes and permanently stationing skilled workers at commune machine repair factories, thus instructing technology while living and working together with commune workers in order to bolster the efficiency of machine tools of repair factories up to four times as much as before. Besides they are to support communes in establishing supplementary technological schools and in training with skilled workers concurrently acting as instructors, using dining rooms as classrooms, and using tables as desks.

4. Communes are aided in setting up plans for improvement in farming techniques. That is, in the cases of many enterprises, party committee secretaries and plant managers have personally led teams and visited communes, listened to their requests, and made support plans on

the basis of the prospect of commune development and the characteristics of each enterprise. Because of this both parties become more aware of the actual conditions and are properly oriented. In some plants, mines and communes regular cooperation periods are worked out so that the progress of plans is checked, supporting items are always supplemented or revised, conference reports are made, and plans are pursued with determination.

For instance, in the case of Kiangsu Province, by 1962 7,000 to 10,000 administrative cadre, technical cadre and skilled workers will be selected from plants and mines of ten municipalities throughout the province, and they will be put to work in the rural areas. For areas with comparatively underdeveloped plants a secretary for industry or cadre for industry is assigned to district party committees or commune party committees respectively; plant party committee secretaries and plant supervisors are assigned to some important plants of hsien and communes; two to three skilled workers are assigned to each commune so as to accelerate rapid development of hsien- and commune-owned industry. (Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 14, 1960, page 4.)

5. Aid is also provided in the cultural phase. For instance, some plants and mines have aided communes in establishing libraries, clubs and broadcasting stations.

#### IV. Superiority of Cooperation

Then what points are found to be superior in cooperation? In comparing the periods before and after the cooperation, the following three points are found superior.

First of all, integration of state industry (province, municipality and local industry) and rural people's communes is further strengthened. That is, in the pre-cooperation period they were prone to stress the material phase. Therefore in some communes there were no spaces to install lathes after receiving them from plants or there were no operators even after installation; consequently the machinery generally laid idle. However after the cooperation it became clear that plants and mines affiliated in the cooperation were responsible for improvement in farming techniques. In other words aiding rural people's communes in installing farm implements manufacturing, repair, and assembly factories became a key point, and communes have been aided overall in aggressively developing a tool reform movement with semi-mechanization as its goal, in promoting comprehensive utilization of facilities, and in fostering technical capabilities of communes. Thus the tasks of national industrialization and industrialization of rural areas have been closely connected, and the positive nature of aid from the cities to the rural areas and the positive nature of the self-regeneration of rural areas have been closely connected.

Secondly, it is advantageous in the consummation of policies for there to be a simultaneous development of native and foreign methods.

As there was a remarkable difference in the technical basis between industry and agriculture in the pre-cooperation period, as exemplified by the latest tractor and primitive plough, the contradiction in universalization and improvement was quite remarkable. However after the cooperation began the problem of improvement based on universalization has begun to be solved step by step, because plants and mines have aggressively participated in the commune's movement for improving implements with semi-mechanization as its focal point. For this year many efficient and improved farming implements that were invented in rural people's communes were manufactured by hsien-owned industry with great support from affiliated plants. Construction of power plants which had hitherto been considered mysterious was completed with workers' aid, using the field as classroom, using actual materials as teaching materials, and at the same time technical capability was fostered. In this way, setting up power plants, railroads, manufacturing lathes and tractors by the native method has become possible.

In the third place, the point is that industrial enterprises have been able to grasp the real conditions of aiding agriculture, and they are giving efficient support to agriculture. That is to say that a distinction was made between the basic and long-term problems of improvement of farming techniques and the pressing problems of current agricultural production, and realistic aid has become possible so that it fits the exigencies of the situation. Before the cooperation, for instance, they set up plans with a certain number of transportation units in mind for aiding agriculture with road construction. According to the plans communes were asked to furnish labor, and attempted to render aid in all other matters from planning to construction. But at the time rural communes were busy farming and were short of labor; thus the well-intended aid could not be effective. After the cooperation, however, i.e., after the reality of the situation was grasped, such things did not happen. For instance, in the Shen-yang Municipality, communes were aided with personnel in the construction of farming machine repair and assembly factories and also in the inspection and repair of farming implements in cultivation, as occasioned by seasonal demands, and in quick completion of sowing in the spring cultivation. Thus aid to the rural areas has become more realistic and effective.

Superiority of cooperation between plants and rural people's communes is found in the above points. Through this, industry's aid to agriculture is becoming more and more intensified and effective. Before cooperation urban support to rural communes was generally on a short-term basis, and material aid generally consisted of supplying, which, in many cases, did not include instruction of operation. Consequently maximum exertion of human and material powers was impossible. But after cooperation the long-term plans for the "Four Transformations" (mechanization, electrification, conservation of water, and the use of chemicals in agriculture) and periodical action plans (conference reports) were jointly decided upon. Accordingly the positive quality between the supporter and supported has been more clearly demonstrated. (Jen-min Jih-pao, Editorial, 26 July 1960)

## V. Significance and Points of Problems Arising out of Cooperation

The form, content and superiority of the cooperation between plants and rural people's communes are as described above; however the Jen-min Jih-pao, in its editorial (26 July 1960), has related its significance as follows: "The cooperation between plants and rural communes has opened a wide avenue for industrial aid to agriculture. Every locality, every enterprise is enjoined to perform this cooperation more efficiently. The cooperation between plants and rural communes is an excellent organizational form in realizing the responsibility of industrialization of the nation and the modernization of agriculture, allying the two great classes of worker and peasant. This is an activity which is significant in our present-day economic life." As pointed out in the editorial of the Jen-min Jih-pao, its significance lies in the fact that (1) it is an excellent method for promoting technical improvement in farming and (2) it is a new form for further strengthening the worker-peasant alliance.

But in spite of the fact that there exist the following problems, its significance does not end with just these two points, but it will increase even more in the future.

The first point is that it is promoting the change in ownership. As is clear in the case of Liao-ning Province, when the cooperation between plants and rural people's communes takes place, it is limited to class cooperation. The overall aid of plants and mining enterprises to communes, including materials and facilities, is all turned over to the communes' possession and is never transferred to production teams. Therefore it means that it is advantageous to the development of commune-owned economy, and it is also advantageous to the transformation from a production team ownership form as a basic condition to another condition of a basically commune-ownership form. This is also advantageous, i.e., in the future, for the transformation from collective-ownership to ownership by the people.

The second point is that adjustments in administrative divisions are collaterally developed. In early 1959 Liao-ning Province made an overall adjustment in administrative divisions of the Province which resulted in the abolition of special districts and annexation of hsien to ten municipalities. (Hung-chi (Red Flag), No. 13, 1960, page 6) Also in the case of Kiangsu Province such municipalities as Su-chou, Ch'ang-chou, Nant'ung, and Hsin-hai-lien which were under the direct jurisdiction of the Province were transferred to the jurisdiction of special districts; moreover several hsien have been brought under the jurisdiction of the municipalities of Nanking and Wu-hsi. The Nanking Municipality has entered into cooperation with special districts of Yen-ch'eng and Yang-chou and P'iao-shui, Kao-shun [or ch'un], and Chu-jung Hsien, all of which are lagging behind in industrialization. Cooperation between Wu-hsi Municipality and Wei-yang Special District has also come into existence there. Additionally it is reported that such municipalities as Yang-chou, T'ai-chou,

Chen-chiang, and Chun-yang that have over 100 thousand or 200 thousand population will annex adjacent hsien. (Hung-chi (Red Flag), No. 14, 1960, page 5.)

Such adjustment in administrative jurisdiction is said to be a guarantee in the organizational phase for direct support and cooperation between city and rural areas and overall planning. Attention should be drawn to future trends concerning the practice of having districts which were heretofore relatively well-developed in industry give assistance to those which were not, and to the fact that this is also related to the formation of economic cooperation districts.

The third point is that concrete forms of urban people's communes' aid to rural people's communes are being born. At present, in the Harbin Municipality, seven city communes have affiliated themselves in an overall cooperation with eight adjacent hsien such as Hu-lan, A-ch'eng, Shuang-ch'eng, Wu-ch'ang, and Pa'yen. Long-term cooperation has come into existence between over 200 large and medium-scale plants such as the Harbin Rolling Stock Plant, Forestry Machine Plant, and Boiler Plant and 174 rural people's communes of 21 hsien such as Shang-chih, Hai-lun, and Chao-t'ung. Each city commune, with the above plant enterprises as its nucleus has organized visiting teams including various trades, and visited hsien, investigated, made progress in understanding, promoted joint study in conjunction with hsien committees, developed overall plans for long-term development and short-term demands, and has made clear the contents of supporting items of affiliated entities such as plants and enterprises. The support from city communes to rural communes is concentrated in the most needed departments of the rural areas. As every hsien and rural commune was in need of securing the sources of motive power as a means to save labor power, the Harbin Chih-hsiang People's Commune has organized seven large plants such as the Harbin Electric Plant, Boiler Plant, Steam Turbine Plant and some minor plants, and aided Chao-tung and Pin Hsien in their construction of power plants with 150 kw to 300 kw capacity. Moreover in eight hsien adjacent to the Harbin Municipality farming machine plants capable of manufacturing general farming machines and various machine tools, small electric plants, small chemical plants (potassium phosphate and agricultural chemicals), small cement plants, and brick plants have been constructed, and in many hsien steel mills of small foreign groups (hsiao-yang chün) are being constructed. (Jen-min Jih-pao, 26 July 1960.)